

DOCUMENT PURPORTING TO ESTABLISH  
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT PEIPING AND  
RESTORATION GOVERNMENT AT NANKING

Pages 1149 to 1178

The Provisional Chinese Government

In 1937, following the collapses of TEH-CHOW, SUIYUAN, CHANGTE, TAIYUAN, etc. in North China, at the end of November the National Government had broken up and removed to HANKOW, CHONGKING and CHONGSHA and finally NANKING collapsed on 13 December, deciding the general trend of war situation. Thus the opportunity to establish a new regime which was pre-arranged among the important men in North China had matured.

The circumstances which WANG KO-MIN consented to become the head of the North China regime are as follows: At the beginning of the Incident he was at HONGKONG. The head of special service facilities in PEKING, major general KITA, eagerly made efforts through Fuji YAMAMOTO, who was in SHANGHAI, to persuade WANG to accept the invitation; meanwhile, staff officers from PEKING and FORMOSA were specially dispatched to HONGKONG for the same purpose. As the result WANG came to SHANGHAI on 24 November, and on 6 December made a flight to FUKUOKA and went to North China with YAMAMOTO and YU CHIN.

It is said that when WANG entered SHANGHAI, he had not yet consented to become the head of the North China regime but on condition that he make an inspection trip he consented to the journey.

The North China army authorities had made great efforts under the plan to establish the North China regime as the Central Government of China in the future and arranged to invite not only WANG but other influential men from South China through YOSHINO and IMAI (military officers) who were stationed in SHANGHAI. Toward this policy the central army and General TERAUCHI gave approval; however, a section of the military officers in SHANGHAI expressed opposition, especially Colonel KUSUMOTO was opposed to pulling out many influential men from SHANGHAI, on the ground that there is no necessity to determine North China as the political center from the beginning.

After the arrival in PEKING, WAN Ko-Min decided to accept the chairmanship of the North China regime and determined Government organization and fundamental principles. On 14 December 1937, the Provisional Chinese Government was established in PEKING.

The Government organization and the fundamental principles are as follows:

(1) The Government shall be organized, under the head of the Provisional Government, with mutual legislative independence, the executive and the judicial and with the independent committee mentioned below:

- (a) The Committee of discussing policies (to discuss important national policies and general political affairs).

The head of Committee: TAN ERH-HO  
 The Executive Committee: WANG KO-MIN, CHU SHEN, TUNG KANG,  
 WANG J-TANG, CHI HSIEH-YUANG  
 The Committee: CHIANG CHAO-TSUNG, KAO LING-WEI

- (b) The administrative committee (organ which undertakes general administration and is divided into five sections of secretariat, administration, public peace and order, education, legislation and relief).

The head of Committee: WANG KO-MIN  
 The head of "administrative section": WANG KO-MIN  
 The head of "public peace order section": CHI HSIEH-YUANG  
 The head of "education section": TAN ERH-HO  
 The head of "legislative section": CHU SHEN  
 The head of "welfare section": WANG J-TANG  
 The head of HOPEI province and the special mayor of  
 TIENTSIN: KAO LING-WEI  
 The special mayor of PEKING: CHIANG CHAO-TSUNG  
 The head of judicial committee: TUNG KANG

- (2) The national flag: 5 colored flag

- (3) The gist of the declaration.

- (a) We restore democracy and eliminate unclean party politics.  
 (b) We absolutely abolish communism.  
 (c) We enhance the morality of the Far East and promote friendly relations between other nations.  
 (d) We exploit industries and improve national welfare.  
 (e) We accept complete responsibilities for the duties declared by the previous Government.

As the result of the new establishment of the Provisional Government, the Committee of maintenance of Peace in Peking district, the Committee of maintenance of Peace in Tientsin and the Federation of maintenance of Peace in Ping-Tsien had joined and on 30 December, the KUANG regime combined with the new Provisional Government.

June 1938

According to the "Fundamental principles to manage the Incident (A)" which was decided soon after the establishment of the Provisional Government at the Cabinet meeting, the Japanese Government will cooperate with the Nanking Government to save the situation if the Nanking Government reconsiders. However, if the Nanking Government does not reconsider and continues the so called long-term resistance, Japan will not expect to negotiate with the Nanking Government in the future, and furthermore to meet the necessity to manage the vast areas occupied by the Japanese forces, henceforth Japan will take separate measures.

In North China, the main policies are to promote public peace and welfare; politically, to establish a regime which has anti-Comintern aims, pro-Japanese and Manchukuo policies; economically, to establish an indivisible relationship between Japan, Manchukuo and China and gradually expand and strengthen this regime to make the central power of the regenerated China. However, if the negotiation between the old Nanking Government are brought about, this Government shall be adjusted in accordance with the conditions of peace.



Further, based upon "the basic policy on the disposition of the China Incident decided by the Imperial Conference met on the 11th of January 1938, our Government has set up its policy to the effect that as regards the Central Government, we reserve a right to negotiate with the old Nanking regime on the basis of the peace terms drawn up separately in case it makes reflection, changes its mind and approaches us with sincerity, seeking peace; that, if on the contrary it makes no peace offer to us we drop our idea to seek a solution of the conflict through further negotiation with it; that we help create a new Chinese regime and cooperate with it to build up a new reform China by making an arrangement with it to regulate the relations between the two countries; that we on the other hand endeavor either to crush the old Nanking regime or to get it merged into a new central regime.

With regard to the peace negotiation which we have so far been taking up through the intermediary of the German Government, the old Nanking Government has on January 14th advised us through the German Ambassador in Nanking that in order for it to arrive at a final decision, it desires to have further details of our demand on the ground that this demand is too extensive in scope. We have taken it for granted that the present answer from the Chinese contains no trace of a sincere wish for peace and is designed merely to delay the settlement, since they ought to have a full knowledge through Germany as to the basic peace terms set forth by the Japanese. Thus our government on or about January 15th has ceased to entertain any hope for a peace out of our negotiations with the Nanking Government, and the Cabinet has decided its policy to start the second phase of our measure in line with the policy decided by the Imperial Conference of January 11th, i.e. to take steps to help create and develop a new Chinese regime. In this connection our Government has on the 16th made public a statement domestically and abroad as to the foregoing and at the same time notified the Chinese to terminate our peace negotiation between us.

## 2. Movement for establishment of a new government in Central China.

When the Japanese force crushed the Chinese army in Shanghai and its vicinity, and subsequently on December 13th, 1937, captured Nanking, movements for creating a new regime in the Central China were launched. First of all, the Shanghai Tatao Municipal Government was organized in Shanghai on December 5th. In various places other than Shanghai public order maintenance associations came into being. Among these, the major organs are the Nanking Public order maintenance association and the Hangchow Public Order Maintenance Association established on January 1st 1938. Nevertheless, in Shanghai area the influence of the Chiang regime and the Nationalist Party proved to remain strong, far more than what was anticipated, even after the fall of Nanking,

so that it was impossible for the pro-Japanese elements to openly approach the Japanese even in the International Settlement. Thus, the matter of building up a substantial regime had long been difficult unlike the case in North China.

The movements for establishing new regimes started during the fall of Nanking up till the date when the Restoration Government came into being may be summarized as follows:

(1) Shanghai City Tatao Government (Tatao Municipal Government).

With regard to the above government, it is reported that Colonel K. SUICHO of the office of Embassy Military Attaché and Colonel MAGISA of the Headquarters of General Staff had consulted with each other and helped towards its formation. The naval authorities and the Foreign Ministry officials on the spot were entirely uninformed thereof until the moment when this government started to assume a concrete form. Thus, this government was at the time generally very unpopular (Major SU Ipi-wen is a Fukuianese, a graduate of Waseda University, and was one time an official with duties in salt affairs).

This municipal government put under its jurisdiction the following districts: Yu Tung, Nanking, Hu Si, Chapei, Chi Ju, the center of the City, Wusung, Feh Kiao, Kiatung, Paoshan, Fengsien, Nanhui, Chuansha, and Tsungming, and consists of the following: Secretariat office, special district administration office, social affairs section, police section, finance section, education section, sanitation section, estate section, transport section, engineering section, legal board, general rural district administration office.

(2) Shanghai War-Zone Relief and Rehabilitation Association.

The above association, mainly organized by a group of traders headed by YU Ya-ching and some others, backed by the Tsingpan controlled by CHIANG Hsiao-ling attempts to undertake the duties pertaining to the maintenance of public order and rehabilitation of commerce and industry, and all sorts of remedial jobs in the war-zone of Shanghai. Although it is termed as relief and rehabilitation association, it is rather a political body. A committee-system is adopted by it, headed by a chairman nominated by the committee by vote, and it had attempted to take up a representative system. This movement was launched, sponsored by influential members of the inhabitants in Shanghai, but it had, after all, ceased to run without a chance to develop into a form of government.

(3) The Movement sponsored by the Sishan faction to uphold TANG Shao-i.

In the early stage of the warfare in China, Commander MATSUI caused SUGANO Nagatomo to come to Shanghai with him. SUGANO, together with YAMEDA Junzaburo and some others, then began to get in touch with CHEN Chung-fu, and tried to have the Sishan Faction, including TANG Shao-i, HSIU Chung-chi, CHU Cheng and others, form a new regime. This effort, however, made no rapid

progress. On the other hand, the TANG Shao-i group was skeptical and feared that the Japanese might come to a compromise with the Chiang regime in future or might attempt to create a purely puppet government. Thus, the attitude of this Chinese group was then rather passive. (Later TANG Shao-i and WU Tei-fu started cooperation with each other and their collaboration showed signs of assuming material development, but the Tang-Wu coalition, which was to come into power, was frustrated owing to the incident in which TANG fell a victim of assassins, which occurred in August 1938).

(4) The peace movement sponsored by the KUNG Hsiang-hai Group.

Among the KUNG Hsiang-hai Group, KUNG Ying, son of KUNG Hsiang-hai (assisted by FAN Kuang) was secretly trying in Shanghai to fathom the attitude of the Japanese. After the departure to Hongkong of KUNG, Jr., CHIAO Pu-san, secretary of KUNG, senior, HUIH Hsueh-hai and some others attempted to maintain a liaison with the Japanese, but only in vain.

(5) The movement sponsored by financiers and industrialists in Shanghai.

Among the men in the banking and industrial circles in Shanghai, there were a number of persons who also launched a movement, these being CHOU Tsuo-min, HSU Hsin-lien, LIN Kang-hou, LI Ying and some others. These men are almost of the same origin as those who initiated the movement backed by the Tsing-pan, referred to in one of the preceding paragraphs. CHOU Tsuo-min, in particular, went over to Hankow in December, and was reported to have had a conversation with Chiang Kai-shek who was then said to be staying in Kengshen, and thus tried to gather from Chiang his attitude upon Japan. CHOU, presumably, was inclined to negotiate with the Japanese, should there be a possibility of peace. His attempt was also unsuccessful.

(6) The movement of the HSIUNG Yin Group.

HSIUNG Yin too was active in Shanghai, and was apparently trying to cooperate with HO Ying-chin with a view to rise when the time proved to be ripe enough some time later on; for which purpose he attempted to form a public order maintenance association in Kiangsu.

With regard to the movements (2) to (6), it was ascertained that the Army Special Service organ took the attitude of denunciation of any movement which aspired to come to power under the sponsorship of the old political groups. Thus, nothing else than the Tatsao Municipal Government of Shanghai was able to develop into a tangible form of government.

With regard to the TANG Ching-teh group: At an earlier stage of development CHENG Ho-fang, Chinese merchant-resident of Kobe, primarily LI Sheng-tu, TANG Yen-sung, and some others were trying in Shanghai to keep contact with the Japanese. (Further, there were a number of men who maintained the view that the central regime in central China should directly from the beginning be one which could deal with the North China regime in harmony. As a matter of



fact, our central authorities once worked out a "Guiding Program on administrative affairs in Central China" (January 27th, 1938), which, I believe, might serve to give a hint as to our government's policy to help and control the new regime.)

### 3. The Restoration Government of the Republic of China.

The movement for establishing a central regime in Central China has progressed to maturity when LIANG Hung-chi, JEN Yuan-tao, CHEN Chun and WEN Tsung-yao entered the political arena. It was rumored that Major General HAFADA, and Colonel KUSUNOTO of the Army Special Service organ and the Naval Special organ in Shanghai gave assistance to all of these different streams of men in order to expedite collaboration between them. In connection with the establishment of the above government, however, the North China group soon began to create strong opposition.

The major factors in the structure of the Restoration Government and its platform at the time when it was formally established on March 28th may be summarized as follows:

(1) This government was a tripartite coalition in the form of a democratic constitutional government with three councils and seven departments in its formation.

#### (A) Administration Council:

Chairman of the Administration Council (acting)	LIANG Hung-chih
Chief of the Foreign Department	CHEN Iu
Chief of the Interior Department	CHEN Chun
Chief of the Sui-ching Department	JEN Yuan-tao
Chief of the Finance Department	CHEN Chin-tao
Chief of the Education Department	CHEN Tse-man
Chief of the Transport Department	LIANG Hung-chih
(Concurrently)	
Chief of the Industry Department	WANG Tzu-hui
Secretary-General of the Administrative Council	WU Yung-wei

#### (B) Judicial Council:

Chairman of the Judicial Council	WEN Tsung-Yao
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#### (C) Legislative Council:

Chairman of the Legislative Council	(Nomination has not yet been made)
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(2) National Standard: 5-color standard has been adopted.

## (3) Gist of the platform.

- (A) A constitutional form of government under tripartite coalition has been adopted, abolishing the single party absolutism.
- (B) The government will carry out anti-Comintern measures as far possible.
- (C) As regard foreign relations, the government will endeavor to guarantee equality, preservation of sovereignty, neutrality and amity, peace in East Asia and friendly relations with all the foreign nations.
- (D) The government will take steps for the relief of war sufferers, to provide aid to them for their return to normal business life, and for carrying out regional purges.
- (E) The government will take measures for the exploitation of natural resources, promotion of agriculture and industry, introduction of foreign capital and economic collaboration with foreign countries which are on friendly terms.
- (F) The government will endeavor to develop commerce, industry and banking, thereby to increase the national wealth.
- (G) The government will take steps to advance the scientific knowledge of the nation on the basis of its own peculiar culture, and to purge radical education.
- (H) The government will rationalize its finance to make it more fit, and take steps to lessen the burden on the people.
- (I) The government will open the door for men of ability, permit freedom of press, speech and criticism of politics.
- (J) Abolition of irregular agents and measures to carry out a purge of government personnel.

As a result of the establishment of the aforementioned Restoration Government a number of local governments were then going to be created under its control because the public order maintenance associations in all different places were to be dissolved. Thus, the provincial governments in Kiangsu Province, Chekiang Province and Anhui Province, and the Governor's Municipal Public Administration office of Hankow came into being on May 23rd, June 20th, July 23rd and April 24th respectively. While in Shanghai the Governor's Municipal Public Administration office of Shanghai was established on April 28th, taking over the whole organization of the Tatro Government together with virtually a nominal change made in its formation. This Municipal Government discarded the name of "Tatro" and was specially put under direct control of the Administration Council.



(Pages 1187 - 1189)

Program for the direction of Central China administration. (This program covers the period until little after the establishment of the New Regime)

(Provisionally decided on Jan. 27, 1938)

#### I. General Principles

- (1) They shall found a highly pro-Japanese regime, gradually free themselves from dependence on Europe and America, and establish the foundation of a district in China dependent on Japan.
- (2) The direction of that regime shall be so exercised that the regime, in the course of its future development shall smoothly amalgamate with the North China Regime. The direction shall stop at general inner direction by Japanese advisors. Detailed direction and interference in administration by appointing Japanese officials shall be avoided.
- (3) CHIANG Regime shall be annihilated. At the same time, elimination of Communists and destruction of the Nationalist Party in a short time within the area under Japanese occupation shall be realized. Afterwards similar operations shall be speedily extended to neighbouring areas.

#### II. Program for Direction

- (4) In directing administrative affairs, emphasis shall be placed on the highest political organization, above all, the Legislative Department, and the domestic administration (chiefly peace maintenance), financial, industrial and educational sections of the Administrative Department, which is the executive organ. In and around SHANGHAI, special facilities shall be created, in order to establish the foundation for the economic development of Central China.
- (5) In directing Provincial Governments and lesser local governments, participation by Japanese advisors shall be avoided as much as possible, so that directions from upper administrative organs shall be smoothly carried out.

In areas under Japanese occupation, especially in war areas, easing people's minds and giving them employment shall speedily be realized.

- (6) The foundation of finance shall speedily be established, banking organs adjusted, and Japan-China economic collaboration in Central China realized. Measures for it are described in another program.

- (7) As for armaments, minimum army shall be trained for maintenance of peace and order, and make efforts, under the guidance of the Japanese army, to restore public order. But the navy and air force shall be included in the defence plan of Japan.
- (8) Throughout the whole area, peace maintenance corps set-up belonging to administrative organs shall be strengthened. For this purpose, several Japanese police officers shall be appointed as instructors in order to establish police administration.
- (9) Establishment of special schools to train model officials and promote cultural activities and the creation of a special lateral organ to promote political purge, shall be otherwise planned.
- (10) Local autonomous bodies shall be gradually abolished, as administrative organization is improved.
- (11) The first-stage administrative area shall be the district under Japanese occupation. The area shall be successively extended.

(Pages 1190 -- 1193)

Program for the Establishment of Central  
China New Regime (in accordance with the  
program for the administrative direction)

(Tentatively decided on Jan. 27, 1938)

#### I. General Principles

- (1) Name of the New Regime shall be as follows:--  
Central China Provisional Government
- (2) Site of the Government shall be as follows:--  
For the time being: SHANGHAI  
In the future: NANKING
- (3) National Standard:--  
5 Colour Flag
- (4) Form of Government:--  
To be decided separately.
- (5) Declaration and Platform as described in a separate copy.
- (6) Organization of the New Regime:--  
As shown in the diagram.

(7) The New Regime shall be speedily set up, and, by nurturing it, antagonistic influences shall be destroyed with physical and moral pressure.

For this purpose, local autonomous bodies which are being set up successively in the areas under Japanese occupation, shall be strengthened, and public sentiments desiring the establishment of a New Regime backed by Japan shall be powerfully stimulated. Moreover, in and around SHANGHAI, economic rehabilitation shall be speedily realized, thereby to contribute to the establishment of the New Regime set up.

(8) Of the expenditures in the initial stage of the New Regime, considerable part shall be borne by Japan.

(9) For the relief of war-sufferers, and rehabilitation of industries, emergency measures shall be speedily taken. Especially, agricultural produce shall be smoothly supplied to the market; and farmers shall take to spring farming without uneasiness.

For this purpose, maintenance of local peace shall be undertaken by the Japanese Army to the best of their ability until the establishment of new local government organs.

(10) Order of the establishment of the new administrative setup is as follows:

- 1 Central Government setup, especially legislative and executive departments.
- 2 SHANGHAI Special Municipality setup
- 3 Provincial Governments setup
- 4 Organization of county autonomous bodies and downwards

(11) In parallel with the execution of 1 and 2, the influence of TSINGPAN and CHIH PAN shall be turned pro-Japanese, and made to assist the New Regime directly and indirectly.

(12) In fixing new administrative districts, former ones shall generally be preserved.

(13) In foreign settlements, with the strengthening of the New Regime, Japanese influence shall be gradually extended, and, after the establishment of the New Regime, the organs of the old regime under the control of Japanese Army and Navy shall be taken over by the New Regime at proper opportunity, causing at the same time outstanding issues to be speedily settled.

(14) TATAO Municipal Government, Citizens' Association, and other



newly-born organs shall be co-ordinated into the new SHANGHAI Municipal Government setup.

(15) Purely administrative organs of the Province and downwards shall be generally left as they are, but educational system and contents shall undergo wholesale revision, as separately planned.

(Doc. #2203)

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. \_\_\_\_\_

I.P.S. No. 2203

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Takio Oda, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Chief of the General Affairs Section, General Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry of Japan and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of numbered pages 1129-1256, inclusive, dated January, 1946, and described as follows: "PART V-CHINA INCIDENT", and part of the records of the General Affairs Section, General Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry of Japan.

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): that said document is a true and correct copy of the original records of the Japanese Government which were destroyed by bombing. I certify the authenticity of said Document and that it is a true and perfect copy of the original Document and records.

Signed at Tokyo on this  
2 day of August, 1946.

Witness: /s/ A. A. Muzzey

/s/ Takio Oda  
Signature of Official  
Chief of the General (SEAL)  
Affairs Section, General Affairs  
Official Capacity Bureau

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Statement of Official Procurement

I, A. A. Muzzey, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above described document was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this  
2 day of August, 1946

Witness: /s/ Wm. C. Prout

/s/ A. A. Muzzey  
NAME  
Investigator  
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Inv. Div.